1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

FISH POISONING

226 278 Fish poisoning (*te ika kohuhu*) was done both by men and women. The root of the *kohuhu* (?), a kind of broom, was commonly used. It was rubbed on the rocks enclosing pools filled with sea water in which fish had been stranded at low tide, or it was carried down among rock crevices along the shore by divers. The fruit of the *hutu* tree (*Barringtonia speciosa*) was used for the same purpose. According to Jardin (15, pp. 38-9) the fresh fruit was opened with a stone and rubbed on the rocks. The poisoned fish floated to the surface. Fish were sometimes poisoned in deep water, men diving with the crushed *hutu* and releasing it under water. The poisoning did not effect the flesh for eating. There was no poisoning of fish in streams. In few, if any, of the streams in the Marquesas were there fish large enough to be worth catching.

FISHING TERMINOLOGY[11]

226 ●192 **Ahu.** Fishermen's shrine.
Ahu. Rolled corn made of fau bark or any cord.
Auone. Small fish net; to fish with this net.
Au-oa. Long braid of leaves to hem in fish.
Ava-ika. Fisherman.
Ava-ika ke'i, ava-ika nui, or tuhuna nui upena. The master fisherman who performed the fishing rites and directed the work.
Ave huhu. Slip knot, noose.
E au upena. Inclusive term for all the gods connecting with fishing.
E fao te ika. To carry into the valley the whole catch of fish.
Fa'e tuma'u. Cookhouse of fishermen.
Fata'a. The shrine inside the oho au pu'e.
Fiifii. Small net for catching tortoises.
Ffo na aho. The process of making the cord for the net.
Ffo ffo. Fishline.
Haa papa. To seek fish from canoes returning from fishing.
Hakatoto o te upena. Ceremony of making a fish net powerful
Hakahoa. Ceremony consisting of carrying fish to the house of a man's son-in-law.
Hakatueu. Food carried to the fisher to secure a share of fish—oupaa.
Hana ava-ika. The work of fishing.
Hana upena. The work of making the net.
Huiteo. Net.
Ika puhi. To fish with torches.
Ina. To hunt, to fish with a torch.
Kaaa, kakaaa. Thread used to attach bait to hook.
Kaimatio, kaimatito, kaimatiko, kaimio, kaimimioa, kaimitito, kaimititoa, kai povi, kaitani, etc. To pass a large part of the day in a river fishing for crawfish, shrimps and little fish.
Kauoa. To fish, dragging leaves to catch the fish.
Kavei. Thread which one puts at the end of the line near the hook.
Keeka. Thread fastening bait to hook.

[11] Compiled from Dordillon's dictionary (8) and my own notes.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

226
192

Keviti. Hook of human bone to catch bonitos.
Kohe atu. Rod for bonito fishing.
Kohuhu. Kind of broom plant whose juice makes the fish drowsy.
Koka'oka. Net to carry fish.
Ketu. To chase fish into the net by slapping the water.
Kounoka. Hook.
Kuahou. The second catch with the great *upena*. The fish went to the women who made the cord for the net.
Makao kou'a. Hook having the shrimps for bait.
Mamai upena. Bottom of net.
Mata ve'o ika. A fishing spear made of pandanus wood hardened in the fire. It had a single point.
Matai. Small string which attaches bait to the end of a hook, and the hook to the line.
Matau i te ika. To fish with a line.
Mata vai'i. Many-pointed lance to spear fish.
Mata va'u. Fishing spear, made of pandanus wood, the end of which was cut so as to make twelve prongs. There were three rows of sennit lashing at the base of the prongs.
Matioka. A piece of bamboo about two feet long used in making the kohiko net.
Nanao. Small package of fish.
Noupo. Fishing in the night.
Oho au fi'o na aho. The house especially erected for making the cord for the net.
Oho au pu'e. The special house in which the fishermen's rites were performed.
Oho au upena. The special house in which the net was made and stored.
Oho au vaka. Canoe shed.
Otu. To chase fish into a net, shouting and frolicking in the water.
Oupa'a. Food carried to the house of fishermen for fish.
Pa. Bonito hook.
Pafeu. To fish with a line, making the hook flutter.
Pahahehahe. To fish from a canoe with a line.
Pa-oa. Seine.
Pati. To chase fish into a net by making a noise in the water. Also **patitavo.**
Pehi. The large single canoe that carried the deep-sea fishing net (Nuku Hiva). Large seine, large canoe.
Peka. To fish with a line while swimming.
Peetai. To fish with a line while swimming.
Piama. To beat hands to frighten fish into a net.
Poa. To stupefy fish with the juice of certain plants.
Pokae. Sinker on fish line.
Pokoe. A stone twisted with the fish hook, which falls off when the hook sinks to the depths.
Puhakau. To fish swimming with a line.
Putoki. Wood that serves to cork a net; wood on which one winds textile matter to make string.
Pu'u kaha. Sennit cord.
Ta i te iha. To fish for the iha.
Ta i te upena. To make a net.
Ta'aka. Those who aid fishers in drawing the net.
Ta'aka'a. Dart, harpoon.
Taha tapu na te upena. The sacred place of the fishermen.
Taiheka. Cords of a net.
Takau, or tanakau. To swim along rocks to catch crabs.
Takikoka. Cords fastened to the hoop of a net called koo'ka.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

226 192

Taka'a. Kind of net.
Tavei. To bait a hook with sea centipedes.
Te ika haka. Fishing with a line from a boat.
Te ika hi. Fishing with rods.
Te ika koiuhu. Poisoning fish.
Te ika ve'e. Spearing fish.
Tiea. Large seine.
Tihii. To fish with a line from a canoe without a rod.
Tikeeka. Small thread that fastens bait to hook.
Tivoivoi. Thread that fastens bait to hook.
To'o. Small net on the end of a stick (for fishing).
To'o pu'u. The basket or trap in the bottom of the large deep-sea fishing net.
Tona. Snare for catching eels.
Totohu. Cry uttered when returning from successful fishing.
Tove'a. To fish with the line on the sea without a rod.
Tu. To catch small fish with a cloth.
Tuama. To fish by the light of torches.
Tuhuna upena. Master net maker.
Tuhuna ava-ika. Master fisherman.
Upo'a, Upeka, Upena. Net. Any net; large net for deep-sea fishing.
Upena fiifii. A large net with floats for catching the *matake* (hammer-headed shark).
Upena iha. A small net for catching the *kaoa*, a small fish.
Upena kaoa or **Upena iha.** Small net for fishing in shallow water.
Upena mana. Net that catches many fish.
Vaka iti. The small canoe that went to the east side of the fishing ground.
Vaka hutoki. Canoe that serves to lift the net: Vakaputoki.
Vakaputoki. Wood that serves as floats for net.
Vaka ka'a'. Sinker for net.
Vaka nui. The two large canoes that went to the fishing grounds.
Vaka taka. The small canoes used in the deep-sea fishing operations (Nuku Hiva).
Vaka vaho. The small canoe that went to the west side of the fishing ground.
Vetvei. Thread that fastens bait to hook.

BIRD CATCHING

223 The simplest method of killing birds was with stones thrown with the hand. An ingenuous method of catching the *kuku* (*Thonarsis treron leucouphali*) was by means of the *mahuke*, a pole about 18 feet long, covered with gum that was made of breadfruit sap, mixed with oil from the coconut or the candlenut. The pole was thrust in among the roots and branches of a banyan tree where the *kuku* come to nest and to seek their food. The birds that perched on the *mahuke* were held fast, their feet and wings sticking in the gum.

Birds were also caught with nets. On Ua Pou there is a place upon the crest of one of the ridges bordering the valley of Ha'a Kuti, over which flocks of birds were accustomed to fly at certain times. Men would go to this point at these times and catch great quantities of them by means of large hand nets on the ends of poles. The flesh of these birds furnished

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

place where they were preparing the *ko'ina* there were no stones for the oven. So the Pa'aha-tai formed a continuous line to the seashore; along the line the stones were passed to the feast place, which was probably at Pekia about two miles from the shore.

Groups would come to the feast place bringing their contributions of provisions. As they approached, a crier or leader, called *patautau*, would cry out or chant in a very loud voice, announcing the identity of the approaching party.

On the actual day of the feast festivities usually began before dawn with beating of drums and chanting at the feast place. A different order of ceremony regulated each type of festival. The food was sometimes all eaten at the feast place, sometimes part of it was taken home, sometimes all of it was taken home. At certain feasts there was the custom called *fao ta kai*, which signified the snatching and looting on the part of all who came of everything they could lay their hands on. Besides the feast there were chants, religious rites, dancing, and much merrymaking and display of finery. Formal chants and dances were accompanied by the drums, large and small.

When chanting and dancing was going on, as when the religious rites were being performed, spectators sat in silence. Women and children, other than those who were taking part in the singing and dancing, had to remain on the platforms, but they circulated freely on those sections on which they were allowed. In the great festivals special platforms were allotted to different tribes, and platforms or parts of platforms were reserved for different classes of people—for example, separate platforms for chiefs, for master craftsmen and warriors, for chiefs's sons and old men, for chiefs' daughters, for common men, for women and children, and so on.

TERMINOLOGY OF FESTIVALS

The following terms with their meanings relating to feasts, given by Dordillon (8), are suggestive:

Avaava. Gift made at a funerary feast.
Fiti e mau haa. To distribute a feast, naming in a high voice those to whom shares were given.
Hakahiti. Cry of invitation to a feast, naming aloud those to whom it is given and assigning to them portions of the dishes.
Haa hua i te ko'ina. To prepare a feast.
Hoi titi. Small fete—within a larger one (*pa'atavai*).
Hutaha. Licentious fete.
Kahau, shau. Cry of invitation to a feast, naming all the guests invited.
Kavapua. Food carried to the house of an individual or a tribe that gives a feast.
Mataki. Distribution in which everyone had part.
Mau. A great feast.
Hoi mau. He who gives the feast.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

527 **Mau hoi titii.** He for whom the feast is given.
Kaimau. The rest of the company.
192 **Naihana.** Those who prepare the fete (*tuakaka*).
Pii tahi. In a distribution to give only one thing or object to each person who takes part; pii ua, to give two, etc.

BETROTHAL FESTIVALS

584 The rites that accompanied formal betrothal and marriage constituted parts of one unit of formalities marking the binding together of families or tribes. The rites and festival of marriage (*hunona*) merely completed those begun at betrothal (*tuia*). The elaborate rites and ceremonies about to be described were not performed to celebrate the union of every couple who might come together as *tuia* or *hunona* (See Personal Relationship), but only for formal alliances. Nor was the betrothal always followed by the marriage rite, for some youths never consummated their marriage with the girls to whom they had been affianced.

A *tuia* (betrothed) was frequently sought for a child from another couple before the expected child had been born, perhaps as soon as the woman became pregnant. If when the child was born it proved to be of the same sex as its prospective *tuia*, the matter was dropped. It was natural that great care should be taken in providing for *tuia* for first-born children. Proper arrangements were necessary: first, for the sake of the prestige of the family; secondly, as a preliminary step on the part of a man towards securing his own spiritual future by arranging for suitable offspring to care for his remains and to continue his family line.

The ceremonial of arranging for *tuia* at Pua Ma'u (called there *ha'a paupau*) was as follows: The parents made the overtures on behalf of the child and came to those whose son or daughter they were contracting for as *tuia*, bringing with them their child and gifts. They were received by the parents of the prospective *tuia* seated on a small platform that had been built especially for the occasion, consisting of a single row (or level) of the usual stream boulders used in building platforms. If their child were old enough, it was seated with them. Back of them was a shrine (*feia'u*) consisting of two posts decorated with plaited coconut leaves (*kopiripiri*), with other coconut leaves suspended in some way between them. This shrine and, in fact, the small platform, the whole rite and all its adjuncts, appear to have been called inclusively and severally *paupau*. After the visiting parents had formally presented their gifts, there was a feast, of which both families partook.

A detailed description of an elaborate rite of betrothal was obtained at Atu Ona: A Ta'a Oa father decided that he wanted his boy (or girl) whose age was perhaps four or five, to marry the daughter (or son) of a

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ing. While the *tuhuna* chanted, the older men among them sat with their backs resting against the *keho,* stone blocks or columns set in the ground to serve as back rests. At such times the tribe as a whole was under a ceremonial *tapu.* The sacrificing was performed by the inspirational priest and the ceremonial priest at the tribal sacred place.

The use of human sacrifice in connection with war ceremonial has already been described. (See War.) Human victims were also offered as a means of breaking drought and of securing plentiful harvests. A human sarifice was sometimes made for the consecration of a new canoe, house, or coffin of a chief, chiefess, or priest; such an offering accompanied the rites connected with the building of a new tomb or feast place, the erection of which was always in honor of some great man, a chief or priest, dead or alive, and human victims were also offered on the occasion of incidents of especial importance in the lives of chiefs or priests—for example, at the time of the festival celebrating the completion of the tattooing of the chief's son, or when the ears of a chief's daughter were pierced, or on the occasion of the sickness or death of great chiefs or priests. Père Siméon (7) gives the following terms for human sacrifices made for different purposes on various special occasions:

Heaka va'u ia ouoho. Sacrifice on the occasion of shaving the chief's head.
Heaka he'e ia vaevae u te tau'a. Sacrifice when a chief went on a journey.
Heaka hoai ia. Sacrifice when the chief bathed.
Heaka hoa ko'e ia tapu. Sacrifice to put an end to a *tapu.*
Heaka paepae ha'e or paepae tohua. Sacrifice to remove *tapu* from a house or a sacred place.
Heaka mea ki'i ehuehu. Sacrifice when a chief was sick.

A tortoise was sometimes substituted for a human victim.

Obtaining Victims

At times when human victims were required by the tribal god, the deity was supposed to make his wishes known through his inspirational priest. In a state of possession, the priest announced the number of victims that should be obtained, his voice being thought to be that of a god. He would then send his warriors to secure the sacrifice as has been described in connection with war. The story of Tiki-tuao from Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, is particularly interesting on account of the illustration it gives of the conceptions with regard to human sacrifice. In this story Tiki-tuao is taken up to the sky and there witnesses the gods regaling themselves on the body of his brother-in-law. He returns to the earth and finds his brother-in-law chanting with other men. When he told the story of what he had seen he was laughed at, but very soon thereafter the brother-in-law was captured and taken home by an enemy tribe to be offered to their god as a

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

held the *hakakai* in place. The ear ornaments were sometimes made of wood in imitation of the genuine type. The enormous plaques of wood whitened with clay worn on either side of the cheek, described by early visitors, would appear to be exaggerated examples of these imitations. Variant forms of the *hakakai* were the great pearl shell plaques worn before the ear (14, p. 135), and what Krusenstern (16, p. 157) describes as "large shells filled with some hard substance to which a perforated boar's tooth was fixed."

Small ornaments (*taiana, taiata, pu taiana*) were carved out of leg or arm bones of ancestors (fig. 23, *d*). The carved portion projected behind the ear and the button or plug, made of shell, was in front. These were worn exclusively by women and girls, and were inherited in the female line.

Another woman's ornament was the *omuo* or *komuo*, carved of hog's tusks. The button (*puiu*) which held the ornament in place, consisted of the operculum of a shell fish and was worn in front of the ear. What is apparently a simple form of this is pictured by Caillot (3, Pl. LXVII). Small rolls of white cloth called *koufau* were frequently worn in the holes in the ear lobs when ornaments were not being worn, in order to keep the hole distended. No evidence was found of exaggerated enlargement of the lobe. *Tape'a puaina, tuha maka, tohemaka uuhe, pohei,* and *tumau puaika* are additional terms for ear ornaments given by Dordillon (8). Descriptive translations are not given for these but it is probable that they are variant terms for the types described above. Other terms are *haruai* and *euhe.* What was the native term for the ornament shown in figure 23, *e,* is unknown. This was a woman's ear ornament.

HEI

Hei, a term used for both necklaces and crowns, refers usually to those made of perishable materials. *Taki hei* are necklaces made of fragrant plants of any kind. The following list of *hei* and the natural objects used for making them is derived from Dordillon (8 and 9), Jardin (15), and from personal notes:

Hei fa'a ha'a). The common yellow drupe of pandanus.
Hei fa'a ka'a. Red pandanus drupe. Pandanus collars were the favorite garlands of *ha'ioi.*
Hei fa'a hoka. Pineapple eyes.
Hei pua. Flowers of the pua *Fagraea Berteriana* tree.
Hei pitate. Flowers of *pitate* (?).
Hei otime. Mint family.
Hei atiu. A small green cucurbit.
Hei piuao. The blossoms of the *piuao.*
Hei meia. (?)

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

301 192 **Hei kakapa.** (?)
Hei konini pa'a. ***Physalis peruvania.***
Hei nano. (?)
Hei kanioka. **Cardiospermum.**
Hei tia'e. **Gardenia blossoms (*Gardenia tahitensis*).**
Hei meha. **The bark of *Rubiaceae.***
Hei niou. **Flower buds of *Siegesbeckia orientalis.***
Hei vaovao. **The blossoms of *Cordia sp.***
Hei hoi. ***Discorea alata.***
Hei vai-uta. ***Lycopodium phlegmaria.***

301 The *taevahei* was a large collar of pandanus seed that was worn hanging on the breast. *Kumu hei* were small packages of fragrant herbs worn pendant from the neck (8).

The *ei taki hei* (*taki* or *taki hei ei*) was a collar made of the teeth of the sperm whale or other fish (8). *Taki ei* on Hiva Oa referred to a single great uncarved whale's tooth worn as a pendant. The *poe ei* was a collar of small porpoise teeth (9). Krusenstern (16, p. 158) speaks of a collar of boar's teeth. *Hopeheie* and *pa'atita*, defined by Dordillon (8) as opalescent plaques, are evidently the terms for pearl-shell breast pieces described by early writers (fig. 24, *b*).

A type of neck ornament, or gorget, of which I have seen no specimen, is described and pictured by early visitors (fig. 25, *b*). Cook (6, p. 310) describes them as follows: "They wear round the neck a kind of ruff or necklace . . . made of light wood, the out and upper side covered with small red peas, which are fixed on with gum." The same ornament is described on Nuku Hiva "made of several rows of little pieces of bread-fruit wood strung together" on which were fastened red and black seeds (18, 171).

A peculiar ornament is described by Krusenstern (16, p. 158) as "balls about the size of an apple, entirely studded over with red beans," apparently worn hung from the neck.

STYLES OF HAIR DRESSING

302 The plucking out of face and body hair was a universal custom. Shark's teeth, shells and bamboo were used for shaving the head. Cook (6, p. 309) says regarding beards:

> They observe different modes in trimming the beard, which is, in general, long. Some part it, and tie it in two bunches under the chin; others plait it; some wear it loose; and others quite short.

[887] This evidently refers to the beards of old men which were allowed to grow long for use in making the white hair ornaments.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

kihi were worn on the fingers. The dancers wore the great pleated hoop skirt. (See fig. 27, *a*.) 535

The dance by naked women at funerary feasts and by widows of warriors before war was called *heva* or *hakahevaheva*. The hair was allowed to hang down behind, and the arms were raised over the head, the hands being quivered or fluttered while there was a continuous jumping up and down—as they leapt the mourners uttered sharp cries. Women are described as dancing naked at the great funerary feast called *vaihopu*. (See Festivals.) Whether this was the *heva* dance or not I do not know, but it seems probable that it was. On Nuku Hiva, this dance was called *ue tupapaku*, weeping for the dead. Melville's description of old women dancing naked at a festival is quoted in the section on funerary rites. (See Death.)

Another dance called the *tutu* is described as being done by women alone to the accompaniment of clapping by men. The women wore the feather ornaments on their fingers. In the manuscript of Dordillon (9) is described a dance called *uhe*, in which dancers whose bodies were stained with the yellow *ena* performed in a circle holding hands around the child of a chief. In Dordillon's dictionary (8) are given the following terms referring to dances and dancing: *tutaehamereu*, *tutaehaveneu*, dance of libertines; *tunotunou*, to pantomime; *patautau*, lecherous dance; *ma'e'e*, dance; *ko'e'e*, to flutter the hands in dancing; *keremaitu*, kind of dance; *huhumaitu*, dance for amusement; *haka'eva'eva*, to sing and dance in honor of someone to obtain presents; *ha'a navenave*, to play the clown, dance naked; *enata ha'a navenave*, a clown. The little that is known concerning the pantomimic performances at the memorial festivals is described in conjunction with those rites. [192]

MODERN DANCING

The *tapriata*, the dance that is always seen today in the Marquesas, is not an ancient dance of these islands. It is said to have been introduced from the Tuamotus and is probably original in that region or Tahiti, or perhaps both. It is dramatic and pantomimic, expressing stories, incidents and messages. Every such dance has its particular name indicative of the story it tells or the message it carries. For instance one performed especially in our honor was called "*Ka'oha nui*," which may be here translated, "Cordial greetings to you."

In the *tapriata* as it was seen by us in the Marquesas, the dancers always remained in one spot, the men being in two parallel rows with the women in between, if it were a dance in which women took part.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

104
192

GLOSSARY OF MARQUESAN NATIVE TERMS

In this glossary and throughout the text the terms used are those of the southern section of the island group unless otherwise indicated. If the term differs in the northern section, the variant is printed in parenthesis following the term of the southern dialect.

A. Day.
Ahana. Husband, male.
Aho. Cord.
Ahui (kahui). Prohibition placed on land, sea, or foods.
Akau. Wood.
Ama. 1. The candlenut tree and its nut. 2. The torch made of the kernels of the nut.
Amo. A carrying pole.
Ava-ika. Fishing.
Ehi. The coconut. Tumu ehi, the coconut tree.
Ehua. Year.
Eita, teita. Herbiage, weeds, foliage.
Ena (eka). .The turmeric plant. 2. Curcumin.
Enata (enana, kenana). Native, native people. Syn. *mao'i*.
Etua, atua. God, spirit.
Fa'e (ha'e). Dwelling house.
Fa'e tukau or tu'a. Inspirational priest's house.
Fa'e tumau. Cooking house, kitchen.
Fainu, haika. Medicine.
Fanaua (hanaua). Female demons.
Fata'a. Sacred store house.
Fata. Food post.
Fau (hau). A tree related to the Hawaiian hau.
Fenua. Land.
Fetu. Star.
Ha'akekai (takae). Legend.
Ha'a-te-po-'iu (haka-te-pe'iu). Chiefess.
Haina. Utensils, furniture.
Haka. Dance.
Haka-iki. Chief, first-born son.
Hami. Loin cloth.
Hana (haka). 1. Work. 2. Bay.
Heana (heaka). Revenge or sacrifice victim captured in war.
Hei. Necklace or crown.
Hiapo. A young tree of the fig family (Ficus prolixa) the bark of which was used to make the red-brown sacred cloth. (The old tree was called aoa.)
Hoe. A paddle.
Heki. Troupe of dancers and singers.
Honi. To rub noses, to kiss.
Hua'a (huaka). Relative, fellow tribesman.
Hue. Gourd or any closed container.
Ihi. 1. A tree (Inocarpus edulis). 2. The nut of the tree.
Ika. Fish.
Ima. Arm, hand.
Inai. Any flesh accompanying the popoi pudding made of breadfruit.
Inoa. Name e inoa, to be namesakes.
Ipu (kipu). A small container, a bowl.
Ka'avai. Valley.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

104 192

Ka'eu. Woman's waist cloth.
Kahu. Cloth, robe.
Kaikai. Food.
Ka'ioi. Youthful libertines.
Kanahu or kanau'u. South wind.*
Kanau'u tokoae. Southwest wind.
Kanau'u tuatoka. Southeast wind.
Kava. 1. A shrub (Piper methysticum). 2. A drink made from the root.
Ke'a. Rock
Ke'etu. A squared block of cut tufa or coral.
Keho. A basalt column planted in the ground to serve as a back rest, a carved stone seat.
Kete. Basket or bag.
Keu. Game, play.
Kiva. Smooth beach pebble or boulder.
Kohe. Bamboo, knife.
Ko'ina (ko'ika). Feast or festival.
Koufau. Poles or sticks or fau with bark peeled off. Used ceremonially.
Ma. Fermented breadfruit paste.
Ma'ama. Month in the northern section.
Mahina. Moon, month in the southern section.
Mana. Power, skill.
Mata. Eyes, face.
Mata. Genealogy.
Mata tetau. Recitation of genealogy.
Mate. Sickness, death.
Mata-ei-nana. Tribe, people.
Matau. A fishhook.
Me'ae. Tomb, temple, sacred place.
Mei. Breadfruit.
Me'ia. Serene, clear, not tabu.
Mi'o. A tree (Thespesia populnea).
Moa. Temple assistant.
Moena (moeka). Mat.
Motu. Island.
Nati, kaha (nani kaha). Sorcery.
Noni. A tree. (Morinda citrifolia.)
Oho au. A special structure erected for some work.
O'one (o'oko). Chants.
Ouoha. 1. Head hair. 2. Ornaments made of hair.
Pa'e. Headdress.
Paepae. Stone platform.
Pahu. Drum.
Pani. Perfumed coconut oil.
Papa. Board, flat rock, coffin.
Papua. Enclosed place, platform, garden patch, stockade.
Patiutiu. Northeast wind.
Patu tiki. Tattoo.
Pekio. Secondary husband or wife.
Po. Night, darkness.
Pu. Conch shell, musical instrument.

---

* The names of winds are from Dordillon's dictionary (8) and from the Lawson Ms. Lawson writes that the natives had thirty-two names for winds, but that when he was in the Marquesas (1867) they remembered only a few. It is probable that most of the other names were those of kinds of winds (such as, gusts causing ripples near the shore, etc.), as is the case with names of winds in Hawaii and Tahiti.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

104
192

Pu'a. Flower.
Puna. 1. Coral. 2. Source, origin, spring.
Pu'u kaha. Sennit.
Taetae. Personal possessions, ornaments, clothing.
Tafai. To feed or to adopt.
Taha ko'ina (ko'ika). Festival place.
Tahi'i. A fan.
Tama. 1. Child. 2. Subject of a chief.
Tanu. To plant.
Ta'o. Taro.
Tapa. Bark cloth.
Tapu. Sacred, prohibited.
Tatihi. Doctoring, surgery, medicine.
Tau'a. Inspirational priest.
Teke. Incision of the foreskin.
Temanu. A tree. (Calophyllum inophyllum.)
Ti. A shrub (Cordyline terminalis).
Tiki. Idol, image, representation, design.
Tino. Body.
Tiu. North wind.
Tiu tokeao. Northwest wind.
Toa. Ironwood tree (Casuarina equisetifolia).
Tohua. Paved dance place.
To'i (toki). Adz.
Tokai. Place where women dying in childbirth were buried.
Tokoea. West wind.
Toua. War.
Tou'a. Rope.
Tuaivi. Mountain.
Tuatona. East wind.
Tuhuna (tuhuka). Professional, director, expert.
Tuhuna nui. Master of crafts and learning.
Tuhuna o'one (tuhuka o'oko). Ceremonial priest and bard.
Tumu. Tree.
Tupapa'u (tupapaku). Corpse.
Uapu, a'anui. Road, path, trail.
Uhane (kuhane). Ghost, spirit, soul.
Upena (upeka). Fishing net.
Upo'o (upoko). Head.
Uta. Paper mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) from the bark of which was made the fine white cloth used for dress and ceremonial purposes
U'u. War club.
Vaa. Leg, foot.
Vai. Fresh water, stream.
Vaka. Canoe.
Vehine. Woman, wife.
Vehine haa. Ghost, demon, ogress.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

drums, mats, callabashes, and other household utensils, as well as hogs, cocoa-nuts and other fruit. They also brought with them large quantities of the plant with which they make their finest cloth, which grows nearly as thick as the wrist, and is highly esteemed by them. They came also laden with plunder, which the enemy had not time to remove; for they could not be made to believe, that a handful of men could drive them.

It was shocking to see the manner they treated such as were knocked over with a shot; they rushed on them with their war clubs, and soon dispatched them; then each seemed anxious to dip his spear into the blood, which nothing could induce them to wipe off—the spear, from that time, bore the name of the dead warrior, and its value, in consequence of that trophy, was greatly enhanced.

I proceeded to the house of Gattanewa, which I found filled with women making the most dreadful lamentations, and surrounded by a large concourse of male natives. On my appearance there was a general shout of terror; all fixed their eyes on me with looks of fear and apprehension. I approached the wife of Gattanewa, and required to know the cause of this alarm. She said, now that we had destroyed the Happahs, they were fearful we should turn on them: she took hold of my hand, which she kissed, and moistened with her tears: then placing it on her head, knelt to kiss my feet. She told me they were willing to be our slaves, to serve us, that their houses, their lands, their hogs, and every thing belonging to them were ours; but begged that I would have mercy on her, her children, and her family, and not put them to death. It seemed that they had worked themselves up to the highest pitch of fear, and on my appearance, with a sentinel accompanying me, they could see in me nothing but the demon of destruction. I raised the poor old woman from her humble posture, and begged her to banish her groundless fears, that I had no intention of injuring any person residing in the valley of Tieuhoy: that if the Happahs had drawn on themselves our vengeance, and felt our resentment, they had none to blame but themselves. I had offered them peace; but they had preferred war; I had proffered them my friendship, and they had spurned at it. That there was no alternative left me. I had chastised them, and was appeased.

We had but little opportunity of gaining a knowledge of their language while we remained among them; but from the little we became acquainted with, we were satisfied that it was not copious; few words serve to express all they wish to say; and one word has oftentimes many significations; as for example, the word *motte* signifies *I thank you, I have enough, I do not want it, I do not like it, keep it yourself, take it*

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

• 192

away, &c. &c. *Mattee* expresses every degree of injury which can happen to a person or thing from the slightest harm to the most cruel death. Thus a prick of the finger is *mattee*, to have a pain in any part is *mattee; mattee* is to be sick; to be badly wounded is *mattee*, and *mattee* is to kill or be kill, to be broke, (when speaking of inanimate objects) to be injured in any way, even to be dirtied or soiled is expressed by the word *mattee*. *Motakee*, with slight variations of the voice, signifies every degree of good, from a thing merely tolerable, to an object of the greatest excellence; thus it is, *so, so, good, very good, excellent:* it signifies the qualities and dispositions of persons; thus they are *tolerable, likely, handsome*, or *beautiful,—good, kind, benevolent, generous, humane*. *Keheva*, which signifies *bad*, is as extensive in its use as *motakee*, and, by suitable modulations of the voice, has meanings directly opposite. This is the case with many other words in their language; indeed with all we became acquainted with. *Kie-kie* signifies to *eat*, it also signifies *a troublesome fellow;* may it not also have many other significations, with which we are unacquainted?—it may signify to *cut up, to divide, to sacrifice, to keep as trophies;* whether it has these significations I am unable to say, and Wilson could not inform me; but many circumstances induce me to believe they meant no more, when they informed me they sometimes ate their enemies. That they offer the bodies of their enemies as sacrifices to their gods, I had more than once an opportunity of seeing, while I remained on the island. Unfortunately the wars we were under the necessity of carrying on against the hostile tribes furnished them with too many subjects. Their fondness for their bones as trophies, is evident to every person. Their skulls are carefully preserved and hung up in their houses. Their thigh bones are formed into harpoons, and sometimes are richly ornamented with carvings; their smaller bones are formed into ornaments to be hung round their necks, representing figures of their gods; they are also converted into fan-handles; form a part of the ornaments of their war conchs, and in fact compose part of every description of ornament where they can possibly be applied.

727
[266]
[782]

648

I now inquired if they had heard from the Happahs since the battle: they told me one of that tribe had that morning arrived. I directed him to be sent for; he approached, trembling for safety; but on my offering my hand, which I had taught all the natives was a token of friendship, his fears seemed to subside. I learnt from him that many of the tribe were badly wounded, and that the whole were in the utmost dismay, and desired nothing more ardently than peace. I represented to him the folly of opposing their arms to ours, and to convince him of the superiority of muskets, I fired at a tree some distance off; the ball

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

APPENDIX, No. I.

A VOCABULARY

OF

THE LANGUAGE OF NOOCAHIVA.

A.

Afterwards	Mamoohé
Angry	Matatooma
Angry, do not be	Hakay, hakay, *or* Eboo-eboo
Away, go	A-dedahatahatoo
Axe, of iron	Toké tooé
Axe, of stone	Toké maooé

B.

Bad, that is	Ao midaggé
Be, it will	Ena ebo
Bird, a land-	Teté
Bottle	Hooiaki
Boy	Boiti
Brave	Toa
Bread-fruit	Mey
Brother	Toonané
Burying-ground	Meray
Buttons, *or* Play-things	Pipi
Buy, to	Ehogo

C.

Canoe, *or* Boat	Evaka
Catch and bring him here	Ate hooté my
Chief, a	Eiki
Cloth, made of bark	Ekagoo
Club, for war	Eoo
Cock	Moa vahana
Cocoa-nut,	Ehi
Come, do not, here	Ovita my-iné

D.

Day	Boha mahé
Day, to-	Kabo
Do, how do you?	Atika
Door, the	Poboo
Dull	Vivio

E.

Ears	Poeann
Earth	Ebo
Eat, will you?	A-ky maooté ky
Enemy	Ebeama
Enemy, do you eat your?	Gigoi nada?
European	Heytoo, *or* Eytoo
Eye	Gigo mata

F.

Farewell	Eba
Father, *or* Uncle	Matooa
Fingers	Eima
Fish	Ecka
Follow me	Amy tato
Foreign	Monahi
Friend	Eboa

[P 323]

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

G.

Girl	Pahoé
Give me	Atoomy
Go and bring it here	Adaha kahé mya
Go to the devil	Tororoo
God	Heytoo, *or* Eytoo
Grandfather	Eta boona
Grandson	Moboona
Grass	Totouha
Gun	Pooi
Gun, do not touch that, it will kill you	Ovhé maoohé

H.

Hair	Ovoho
Hand	Eema
He	Oyana
Head	Ehobogoo
Heart	Hoboo
Hen	Moa vaheenee
Hog	Booaga
House	Ehy
Hungry, I am	Maté de oggé

I. J.

I	Oonoo
Joyful	Enavé
Iron	Toké
Iron, a small piece of	Toké
Iron, I will give you some	Toogo ato toké ya-o-o-e
Island	Motoo

K.

Kill	Maté
Knife	Goggi, *or* Goos

L.

Lips	Kinootoo
Liver	E-até
Lobsters or Crabs, three sorts:	
1	Kyitaké
2	Poto
3	Toe toe

M.

Man	Enata
Man, you are an honest	Ineta mitaggé
Mat	Moin
Month	Ete mahama
Moon	Maheena
Morrow, to-	Oy-oé
Mother, *or* Aunt	Ekooi

N.

Nail	Poohi-poohi
Neck	Katé ehi
Nose	Eishoo
Nostrils	Ebohama eishoo

O.

Oar	Hoi-hoi

P.

Plantation	Henoo
Priest	Edaoo
Prohibition	Taboo

R.

Rat	Kiuré
Red	Kahoogooyar

S.

Saw, a	Heeka
Sea, *or* Salt water	Itaé
She	Tahova hené
Sister	Tooi heena
Sit down here	Ata nohoo
Sleep, will you, on-board?	Amoynoo devaha
Spear	Paggeo
Step, a	Taboony
Stolen, have you not, something?	Hay kamo goé
Stone thrown from a sling	Kea *or* Kya
Sun	Eomaté

T.

Take this	Akaveeatoo
Tatooing	Teeka
Teeth	Neehoo

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

That is past . . . Oovayoo
That will be . . . Ena ebo
They . . . . . Ato
Thief, he is a . . . Ekamoo
Thigh . . . . . Pooha
Thou . . . . . Koé
Tongue, hold your . Tooi tooi
Tree . . . . . Toomoo

W.

War . . . . . Etou
Water . . . . . Vy
Water, is there no? . Hamtivy
We . . . . . Mato
Well, that is . . . Midaggé
What do you call it? Ehadené
What is that? . . . Ea ha
Where do you go? . Anoigé
Where is he? . . . Ihé
Where is your king or chief? . . } Ha kyiriké
White or Yellow . . Tava tava
Who is that? . . . Ooy
Why . . . . . Meyaha
Wife . . . . . Evehené
Woman . . . . . Vehené
Work . . . . . Hanamydehana
Wounded . . . . Vooteo

Y.

Year . . . . . Etahetau
You . . . . . Taoe

I am . . . . . Ooaoo
Thou art . . . . Koé enaeeshoo
He is . . . . . Oyana
I was . . . . . Ooaoo houné
You were . . . Koé houné
He was . . . . . Oyana houné
She was . . . . . Tahova hené houné
I will do it . . . . Ehaooney
You will do it . . . Atahagoé
He will do it . . . Tyé hanha aooné
I have . . . . . Eia
I had . . . . . Iua oo houné
I will have . . . . Eyna ateetahé

Numerals.

1 . . . . . Eytahé
2 . . . . . Eynoo
3 . . . . . Eyto
4 . . . . . Eyha
5 . . . . . Eyma
6 . . . . . Eyono
7 . . . . . Ehitoo
8 . . . . . Evahoo
9 . . . . . Eyva
10 . . . . . Hanhoo.

N. B. By the inhabitants of Noocahiva the letter *h* is not always sounded. The vowels *a*, *e*, and *i*, are pronounced as the French pronounce them, except where the *e* is doubled.

[pp. 326 - end not processed]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

thus consists of a series of steps, each marking one of the layers of excavation, and the removal of these steps is the last process prior to the polishing. The workman usually sits upon the ground, with the bowl held on edge in front of him and steadied with the left hand. In hollowing the interior a double stroke is used for each chip, the first blow being made horizontally, the second vertically. The bowl is slightly turned after each double stroke, and the excavation kept as nearly circular as possible. A knife is ordinarily used to trim the rim, being held with the blade below the hand, edge outward, and pushed away from the operator. Bowls are shaped as far as possible with the adz and knife, the final polishing serving only to obliterate the tool marks. Polishing is done with sand paper, the finest grade obtainable being used for the last stage, but in ancient times coral grinding stones were used. When the bowl has been rubbed smooth the surface is burnished with a china door knob, applied with as much pressure as possible. Old pebble polishers which have acquired a glassy finish are still occasionally used. The modern workman seems to be fully as skillful as his poorly equipped ancestor, and unless some enterprising European introduces lathes into the group it seems probable that the primitive processes of manufacture will survive unchanged for many years.

The Marquesans relied almost entirely upon carving for ornamental effect, and from conversations with modern bowl makers and carvers it would seem that the natives have little appreciation of the beauty of the wood used or the aesthetic value of pure form. This is borne out by the fact that some elaborately carved specimens are noticeably asymmetrical, when the fault could have been remedied without injury to the utensil. It is certain that many shapes of utensils were formerly used, but the long European contact has resulted in the disappearance of many of these original types and probably in the introduction of new types. The following list of native terms for various types of bowls and dishes has been compiled by Handy from Dordillon's Dictionary:

Katipu. A large oblong dish (pig white in the middle and black at the extremities).
Katiho. Dish.
Kapuho. Kind of native dish.
Kahaumo. Cover of calabash, operculum of shell
Kakipo. Covered vase for popoi.
Kiapo. Native dish. Bowl.
Kipo. Vase to serve kava. Popoi bowl with cover.
Kupo. Vase for kava.
Kaipo. All vases.
Ipu. Bowl. All vases of small dimensions.
Hue. All vases with large openings.
Hue maoi. Calabash.
Tipuni. Dish.
Tihara, Tiharahara. Small dish.
Tiaha. Drinking vase.
Taeao. Vase to prepare kava.
Tahaho. Small dish.
Tahao. Oblong dish.
Tahaho. Large dish for popoi.
Puru hue. Small dish.
Piihara, Piarahara. Native dish.
Pupa hatua. Covered dish for popoi.
Mano tapu. Large vase with cover to conserve popoi.
Aivaipoi. A round wooden dish. An oval dish with a cover.

Many of these container forms could no longer be identified, and the following descriptions are based on specimens seen or described by reliable informants.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

DRUMS

In musical ability the Marquesans appear to have been inferior to the Tahitians and the Hawaiians, but they possessed a number of musical instruments, the most important of which were drums (Pl. LXXII, *A*). That these were made in a variety of forms and sizes is indicated by the following terms from Dordillon's Dictionary[3]:

Pahu.	Drum.
Pahu peiei.	Small drum.
Pahu ua.	Double drum.
Pahu me'ae.	Large drums used in the *me'ae*.
Pahu putuu.	Short drum.
Pahu oeoe.	Small drum used to accompany songs.
Pahu tapete.	Long narrow drum.
Umi.	Drum.
Teveteve.	Drum.
Pere.	Kind of small drum.
Uhaki.	Small drum played with the *uhaki*.
Pahu vanana.	A thin drum, perhaps six feet high, made of *tou* wood; it was beaten as an accompaniment for the singing of the *vanana* by the men in the *me'ae*.
Utu.	A small drum used at feasts.
Pahu umi.	A small drum.
Tutu.	Small drums played on the *tohua*.
Pahu anana.	Big drums beaten from a *paepae*.

Unfortunately several of the drums in this list can no longer be identified. The *pahu ua* must have constituted a distinct type, but no information in regard to it was obtained and no examples seem to have survived. Except for the *pahu ua*, all the Marquesan drums figured or preserved conform so closely to a single type of design and construction that it seems probable that they differed only in size and in minor details. They may be described as follows:

The smallest drum seen was slightly more than thirteen inches high with a head diameter of six inches. The largest, a *pahu me'ae*, had lost its base through decay, but must originally have been more than eight feet high with a rim diameter of nineteen inches. The bases of even the largest drums seem to have been comparatively low, the differences in height resulting from variations in the length of the body.

All drums were hewn from a single piece of wood. Some very large drums were apparently made from temanu, but the decay of the wood made identification difficult. Drums of ordinary size appear to have been uniformly made of *mio*; and as only the dark heart wood was used, very large trees must have been required. The body of the drum was shaped with adzes and the interior hollowed with chisel and mallet. Fire does not seem to have been used.

The body of the Marquesan drum was cylindrical. In drums of ordinary size the diameter was slightly greater at the bottom than at the top, but in the very large temple drums

[3] Translation and explanatory notes by E. S. Craighill Handy.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

534
[192]

Puihu. Nose flute. (D.)
Putetue. Nose flute. (D.)
Ivi tahi. Flute. (D.)
Ia piananai, ia piveuveu. Flute. (D.)
Ki kohe puru. Nose flute. (H.)
Ki. Flute. (H.)
Vivo (Nuku Hiva dialect). Flute with three holes.

JEW'S HARPS

Bamboo's Jew's harps are still used in the Marquesas by boys and young men.

The main part of the harp consists of a strip of bamboo six to eight inches long and about one inch wide. It is split from a large joint, so that it is only slightly curved. A deep narrow notch is cut in the center of one end of this strip; a thin flat strip of bamboo, slightly wider than the notch, serves as a vibrator. This vibrator is not attached to the wider strip, but is laid on its concave surface, covering the notch and protruding two or three inches beyond the end of the wider strip. The instrument is held in the left hand, with the convex side of the wide strip against the mouth. The player blows through the notch, meanwhile striking the projecting end of the narrow strip rapidly with the right hand. Jew's harps seem to have been used only as toys.

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS

The only aboriginal stringed instrument now used in the Marquesas is the musical bow called *utete*. (See Pl. LXXII, *E*). At the present time it is practically obsolete. It was seen only once in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa.

The body of the modern bow is made of fau wood, and is flat on the outer, and convex on the inner surface. An average specimen is three feet six inches long, with a central width of one inch, tapering to ⅝ of an inch at the ends. The string is usually made of slender iron wire, but a very thin cord, twisted from the fibers of the leaf sheath of the coconut palm, is still occasionally used. One end of the cord is twisted around the bow, while its opposite end, which is knotted, is caught in a narrow slot in the wood. To increase the tension, small stones or little pieces of wood, like bridges, are placed under one or both ends of the string. In playing the instrument one end is held in the teeth while the body of the bow projects almost horizontally to the left. The bow is supported by the left hand and the string tapped rapidly with a slender baton made from the midrib of a coconut leaflet. Handy was informed that the bow was made of *nio* and that the string was pinched with the fingers of the right hand.

The musical bow was primarily a woman's toy, but is played by persons of both sexes at the present time. The note is quite faint, being almost inaudible twenty feet away, but being held in the teeth, sounds quite loud to the player.

Dordillon defines the word *hikoua* as a "kind of shell lyre" and *e pukuru hikoua* as a "lyre." This would seem to indicate the former existence in the Marquesas of stringed instruments other than the musical bow, but no examples of these have survived, and no information in regard to them was obtained.

STICKS FOR BEATING TIME

At dances the men sometimes beat time with two short sticks. One of the sticks is held in the palm of the left hand and tapped with the other, held in the right hand.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Akatea. Kind of bush for tapa.
Akatoto. Kind of mulberry tree for paper.
Atea. Tree whose bark was used to make cloth.
Hiapo. Young branch of the Banyan, whose bark is used to make cloth, also the cloth made from this bark.
Ike. Tapa beater.
Kokuu. Mallet of wood of this tree (Lily of India).
Kotapa. To even the edges of cloth.
Mapu. Native cloth.
Mata. The right side of pretty cloth.
Nie i te tapa. To equalize the edges of cloth. To cut off the unevenness.
Pahito. Coarsely beaten tapa.
Pahito hitohito. Coarsely beaten tapa.
Pahoa. To beat bark for cloth.
Papo i te tapa. To remake used tapa as new.
Pataka: To peel wood, knocking underneath with a stone or other object.
Peka i te tapa. To beat cloth in cross construction.
Taemani. Said of lustrous, luminous cloth.
Tahotahoki. To beat cloth slowly so that it will be closed.
Tapa kokokoko. Native cloth.
Tapa kookoo. Cloth.
Tapa pia. Clear cloth.
Tapa pokuu. Cloth made from breadfruit bark.
Tihoo. To stretch (a cloth) in beating it, to make it larger and finer.
Tipa. To beat a cloth for the first time.
Titaa. Kind of beater of iron wood.
Titapa. To even the borders of cloth.
Tivaka. To put a length (leaf) in cloth.
Tuaka. Cloth coarsely beaten.
Tapa Tuakahikahi. Clear, thin cloth.
Tumekaka. Cloth poorly beaten.
Tutua. Wood on which tapa is beaten.
Tututini. To rebeat a cloth many times to renovate it.
Ute. A species of tree (*Morus papyrifera*). Bark for tapa. Tapa.
E tapa vakavaka. Strong cloth serving for wrapping.
Uuka. To make cloth into a bundle.

/42 cont./

Oral stimulation of the genitalia before or during copulation is not practiced by the majority of adolescents. It is regarded with some disgust. A great deal of joking between male adults and youngsters revolves around cunnilinctus (kai ma te to'e). Youngsters are often asked if they have performed cunnilinctus on a particular girl: when a negative response is given, with some expression of disgust, the statement is made that the boy knows nothing of sexual techniques but should not be afraid to experiment. A common statement which was almost a slogan was: E aha te ha'a metau? E kiko 'en ana! -- "(What is there to be afraid of? It's (only) Marquesan meat!" Another slogan of this type, like the last, attributed to a living or still remembered "sage" was 'O te to'e te kai 'o te hakaiki -- "the clitoris is the food of the chief." Most girls are equally repelled by the suggestion of fellatio (kai 'i te pia), although it is seldom attempted by the adolescent males, who do not seem to consider the possibility to be too interesting, maintaining that it is devoid of the body movements (tamure -- from the Tahitian dance of the same name featuring pelvic motion resembling that of intercourse) that play a large role in the enjoyment of the sex act.

/43/The boy usually removes his shorts but often leaves on his shirt. The girl will usually lift her skirt and may open her blouse slightly. The position of intercourse is almost invariably with the girl in a supine position with her legs flexed and apart, and the boy braced on his hands over her. Variant positions are seldom tried, for as one informant remarked: "The result is the same, no matter how you do it!" Once the penis is introduced, pelvic motion by both parties begins, continuing until orgasms are experienced. Marquesan girls apparently have practically no difficulty in experiencing orgasms; they are apparently able to attain orgasm after a relatively small number of sexual experiences, learning to control it quite quickly so that they will reach the climax with the partner. A number of words are used to refer to various aspects of the sexual climax. Manini (lit. sweet) refers mainly to the sensation of pleasure, release and well-being attendant upon orgasm and ejaculation. Hakate'a literally means: "make

/43 cont./ 192● 833
semen" thus referring to the event of ejaculation, but also possessing an overtone of the psychological aspects expressed by manini. Both of these terms are not the most polite usage, especially in mixed company, or in the presence of respect-evoking kin or nonrelated strangers in which case pao (finish) is used as a substitute. In the southern group of the Marquesas archipelago, two words are in use which appear to have been influenced by missionaries or at least developed as circumlocutions because of the presence of missionaries. These are pe (rotten) and hau hau (bad) both referring to the state of orgasm. [602] [609] [177] [797]

/44/ In orgasm, it is considered improper for the girl to make any signs of great excitement, except for sharply increased respiration and increasing muscular tension. For a girl to make any sounds beyond vocalized glottal explosives of medium strength is considered a sign of promiscuous tendencies and may earn her the title of vehine mako. At the climax a girl usually draws the boy a little closer to her, exerting pressure on the sacrum or drawing on the buttocks. 833

The sex act seldom takes more than five minutes, usually somewhat less. Immediately afterward, the girl goes to the water supply and washes her genitalia carefully, attempting to remove the semen digitally. The boy then washes also. Intercourse usually occurs two or three times in this fashion, in rapid succession, if time is available. Should the union be condoned by parents frequency is much higher, often surpassing ten contacts per night.

Intercourse with the "promiscuous" girl takes a somewhat different pattern. This is due to the fact that these girls have derived a great deal of their experience from older Marquesan males and strangers who patronize them quite frequently. As was noted previously, a young girl most frequently has her first experience with an older male. For some girls, sporadic contact with older men continues, and a characteristic of the promiscuous girl is her availability to the old as well as young, which is not the case in normal Marquesan behavior patterns. Further sources of experience for the promiscuous girl are the strangers, both Polynesian and European, arriving continually in the islands. Male /45/ strangers are directed to the promiscuous 836 833 836 [648]

/50 cont./
"The chief is standing." Casual fondling of the genitalia is 831
quite frequent and considered natural. Boys will be seen
wrapped in thought while watching something or engaged in a
conversation, simultaneously rubbing their genitalia through
their trousers. It is also common to see males reach into
their shorts to fondle themselves. Whether from inside or [839]
outside of the clothing, the fondling usually is done in the
following manner: the penis is placed against the stomach
and stroked along the ventral surface, up and down, quite
slowly.

A male is extremely proud of the size of his penis, and 826
will often try to improve its size by squeezing and pulling on 831
it while in an erect condition, a technique believed to be
helpful in stimulating growth of the penis. Males are envious
of each others endowments, often conducting comparative
sessions at which the length of the penis was measured along
the extended palm and arm, in the Marquesan fashion of [804]
indicating lengths. (I was frequently asked for my archeological [123]
tape measures, to put these contests on a more scientific and
objective /51/ basis.) Quite often, while swimming or bath-
ing nude, comparisons are made directly, always with the
penis erect. If erection is not naturally forthcoming, the
male will turn his back, masturbate until turgidity appears
maximal, and then make his measurement.

At least three named types of penii were recognized by 192●
the Marquesans, two of which are still known and used today 826
to refer to particular varieties. The typological division is 831
based on the shape and size of the glans penis:

a. hua'i'ama — Wide flat glans, with a blunt terminus (like a candle nut)

b. moa'iahota — Narrow glans with a more circular or oval section and a pointed terminus, tapering gradually (like a sting ray barb)

c. hapa potea — Could not be defined by informants. Translation indicates that the term makes an analogy between the glans and the shape of the mollusc turbo argyrostoma (hapa = end, potea = T.

/51cont./

826
831
argyrostoma). Therefore, the glans characteristic of this type was probably quite large, circular in section, possessing a blunt terminus and possibly a slightly everted urethral meatus. [192]

831
834
Marquesan males are quite careful to conceal their genitals in the presence of strange Europeans. It would thus be easy for a short-term observer to be completely misled and attribute intense modesty to them. /52/ Such modesty would be completely erroneous, however. Complete nudity is quite common among male groups, especially in fishing parties or in bathing groups, where no attempts are made to conceal the genitals. In such groups, there is a continual undercurrent of sexual horseplay and joking involving the qualities of the genitalia of those present. Some of this verges on the homosexual as will be discussed below. Males will also construct female torsos in the wet sand at the waters edge, and copulate with them briefly, or pile and rub wet sand gently around the penis while seated at the waters edge or in the shallows. There is much concealed curiosity among Marquesans over the genital anatomy of Europeans, particularly regarding the foreskin and results of circumcision in general, as well as for the inevitable comparisons of size.

[609] [571] [291] [532] [826] [609]

838
883
In adolescence, homosexuality among males appears with sharply increased frequency. An explanation of the term "homosexual" in Marquesan terms is necessary before proceeding further. Although we will discuss under this general rubric all the behavior that our society would label as homosexual, the Marquesans divide their behavioral continuum differently. Acts of homosexuality are accepted as a substitute for heterosexual relations in time of scarcity of women and as especially characteristic of adolescent behavior. On the other hand, habitual homosexuality, in which female company is eschewed almost entirely and male lovers are taken, earns the appelation of mahu -- deviate. Such conduct in the male is usually associated with transvestitism to varying degrees, assumption of female economic roles and

838

/63 cont./ 554
two from adult males, one from a 15-year old boy. Natives 837
who knew of these offers indicated that prestige factors were [123]
involved.

Marital sexual relations differ in a number of respects 585
from the typical premarital pattern. These changes generally 833
transpire gradually during the initial months of a permanent union, when the couple is becoming accustomed to each other.

/64/ First, a gradual decrease in intercourse frequency occurs, while the actual duration of intercourse increases and steps are taken to prolong endurance. No data could be obtained on frequency from a sufficient sample of married couples to give any reliability, but two long-married couples of our acquaintance supplied information: one couple copulated routinely once a night, while the other couple copulated five times per night, two to three nights each week. This demonstrates quite a sizable variation in practice which is obviously completely expectable. Such frequencies contrast markedly with the premarital data, however, and the contrast in behavior is recognized and verbalized by the natives.

The duration of intercourse increases up to 10 minutes or 50 in many cases. Prolongation of the act by coitus interruptus is attempted and in some cases a ligature around the scrotum is believed to delay the male's orgasm and/or ejaculation. Obviously, the prolongation of the act is possible in a recognized union, as the fear of being apprehended is completely removed and the couple is completely at leisure.

Changes in techniques employed also appear. Nudity [291]
(ha'a puaka) in the sex act is more common, and the foreplay increases, although very little. The more leisurely atmosphere evidently is conducive to experimentation, as oral stimulation of the genitalia is common as a prelude or an interlude in the sex act, and is occasionally indulged to the point of orgasm.

/65/ A considerable variety of positions of sexual inter- 192●
course (titoi, heko) appear during marriage. Positions identi- 585
fied by informants were: 833

1. titoi kaukau (intercourse on the side) - male lies on side, facing supine female. Also known as

/65 cont./ 192●

haka ka'aka -- "in the gecko-manner" (haka na'ana = Hiva Oa dialect). 585 833

2. patu hope - "stick the buttocks" - female kneels or bends over, and introduction of the penis is made from behind. Also known as titoi ihoraue - horse intercourse - or titoi peto - dog intercourse.
3. haka noho - "sitting style" - in which the female sits astride the male's lap, facing him.
4. haka pe'e - Male is supine, female sits astride.
5. titoi puta keo - coitus in ano.
6. titoi - normal ventral-ventral position.

In addition to these terms, indicating specific positions, there are a large number of synonyms used to refer to the sex act itself. Many are used in "polite" company, others used among males as a sort of quasi-secret slang, others are simply slang, near the level of our Anglo-Saxon four-letter words. 192 195 585 833

Polite synonyms:

ke'u	play
piki	mount
hano	get
hana hau	
hau	bad act or work
hana he'o	hard act or work

/66/

hana animara	animal act (contact
mo'e	sleep

Male Slang:

soana	(Samoan = to sit ?)
tiko	a recent Marquesan innovation
te kio'e'i te 'ua ma	the rat in the ma pit

More Commonly Used Slang:

ve'o	stab or impale
titoi	copulate
heko	copulate or rut

The last terms listed are those most commonly used among members of one sex, but seldom used before members

/66 cont./ 585 833 [192] [195]
of the opposite sex. In mixed company ke'a, mo'e piki, or hano are used.

During the act, married women display their excitation with more abandon than in the premarital period.

In marital sexual relations, there is no after-play. Both individuals go out and wash, one after the other, and then may go to sleep or resume sexual intercourse.

Impotency among robust males below the old-age level is relatively rare. During our stay, we only encountered one male who suffered from this condition. Another historic case of a well-known chief who was impotent with his wife was recounted. In the one case observed, the individual was married to an attractive woman who remained with him, but /67/ compensated by engaging in extramarital intercourse with high frequency, often making little attempt to conceal her liaisons from her husband. He displayed an attitude of resignation and often disinterest concerning her unions with his personal friends, but became irate when he suspected she was having relations with individuals that he did not like. His relations with his wife were limited to mutual oral stimulation of the genitals, performed infrequently. The rest of the community regarded him with some pity, often expressing wonderment as to the basis of his condition, in view of the fact that he had won renown as a youth for excessive virility and potency. His appellation was Hati - "Broken" - an obvious reference to his affliction. During our stay, Hati appeared to be extremely maladjusted. His conversation was often irrational, and he was obsessed with the topic of sexual potency. He drank to excess by the culture's standards, remaining drunk throughout a good part of the day, several days a week. He worked rarely, and was an indifferent worker when he was employed. Shortly after our return to the United States, we received information that he had developed a full-blown psychosis, necessitating hospitalization.

159 833 837 [551] [158] [733] [158]

Impotency in elderly males is not regarded as unusual. Oral stimulation is practiced in such cases, as in that cited above. 833 888 [832]

/71 cont./
and esoteric terms for sexual matters are constantly being produced, mainly by the unmarried males, it would appear. These /72/ are employed with the anticipation that the uninitiated listeners will be completely deluded.

Some examples of esoteric sexual terms have already been given (see the list of synonyms for the verb "to copulate," p. 47). The development of a few others will be presented here. The Kendal Oil Co. commercial, given nightly over Radio Tahiti, provided the material for a new term. The word "Kendal" came to be used as a verb, "to ejaculate," and nominalized to mean "semen."

In another case, the adolescents of Hatiheu were swimming off the dock in that bay. The boys discovered that several of the girls, swimming in skirts, wore no undergarments, and proceeded to dive below the girls who were treading water, and look up their dresses for a glimpse of their genitals. The girls quickly noticed the submarine observers and demanded to know what they were looking for. A boy quickly responded that they were searching for puta'a ta'a (Murex ramosus) shells. From then on, the Hatiheu esotericism for vulva was puta'a ta'a.

Among company of a single sex, the restraints on conversation are relaxed, with tapu expressions being used, except in the cases where individuals standing in certain respect relations to the speaker, such as a brother-in-law, or father, are present. In such situations, those sharing respect relationships will refrain from conversation of a baldly sexual nature.

"Obscenity" in the Marquesan tongue has changed considerably over the years, as a result of outside contact, both with other Polynesians /73/ and with Europeans. During the first three decades of this century, the aboriginal obscenities were still in use. These were most often directed at an individual's pride in status and personal cleanliness, rather than referring to sexual matters.

/73 cont./

Aboriginal Obscenities

192 831

'u moeka	sleeping mat (regarded as a particularly vicious expression, as the sleeping mat was the lowest thing in a house, being walked on by everyone)
kio'e pe	"rotten or decayed rat"
'upoko pe	"rotten or decayed head" (the head was the seat of supernatural power) [826]
'o'o pe	"rotten or decayed brain"
to roro!	"Your brain!"

At present, such terms absolutely fail to evoke any reaction among younger Marquesans and even older individuals [178] do not regard them as seriously as they did 20 years ago. The 192 coarse language of the modern Marquesas, more concerned with 177 sexual matters, has assumed a certain European, if not down- 831 right Anglo-Saxon flavor. The verb "to copulate" -- titoi -- is used as in an exclamatory fashion, much the same way as our four-letter equivalent. It is not used adjectivally or nominally as in English, however. The same verb, titoi, is also used in its Tahitian meaning -- to draw back the foreskin -- with an appropriate hand motion. The Marquesan synonym pauheke (or paupauheke -- to masturbate) is /74/ also employed in the same fashion. All of the above are used as expressions of [578] annoyance and are regarded as grave insults when uttered in the context of an argument. Such terms are used frequently in non-mixed company, in jest, however, without provoking any wrath.

Marquesan obscenity also reflects the heavy concentra- 192 tion on genital hygiene so characteristic of the culture. Ap- 831 pellations of pi'au'ota (your stinking foreskin), hoki i te mimi [181] (smells like urine); or pi'au i te puta keo (stinking anus) are common and considered to be quite grave.

There is a great deal of Marquesan folklore about the 186 personal hygiene of the French, and it is suspected, most other 515 white ethnic groups. 648 [538]

/74 cont./ 186 515 648 [154]
white ethnic groups. This is a culture contact phenomonon, arising from the need of the natives to act out their animosity toward the European intruders. As few white visitors ever learn more than a few words of the native language, it is quite safe for the natives to refer to white visitors by terms such as those listed above. I have seen Marquesans return the greetings of French and American tourists with such appellations, displaying perfect poker faces all the while. Much is made of "lax" European bathing habits; to escape disapprobation, one must bathe as frequently and as thoroughly as the Marquesans and be extremely careful of perspiration odor.

Skin eruptions are very common among the Marquesans, providing a further source for terms of insult. Some of the most common are: 164 192 578

/75/ puna — an eruption characterized by itching and peeling of the skin, often in the groin, but found on the rest of the body as well (also known as Sekaseka or senga senga - Samoan?)

tane' — an eruption characterized by slight depigmentation, arising in spots and spreading over large areas

mama — an eruption characterized by numerous small round hard blisters developing on the lower legs and ankles, resembling in their appearance and order the chitons (mama) which appear on the rocks along the shore. [136]

All these diseases are considered quite contagious (rere), especially as a result of sexual intercourse. References are commonly made to a newly developed skin condition as having come from a particular sexual episode. Those whose mates or lovers are afflicted with any of these diseases are subjected to severe ridicule at times, as the diseases, although common, are thought to be somewhat distasteful. 169 578 [833] [763]

Conspicuously absent in the Marquesan obscene vocabulary are references to female relatives of the addressed. Having 192 602 831

/75 cont./ Having 192● 607 831 [177]
been exposed to a certain amount of American obscenity, as a result of visits of American ships, both private and military, a number of Marquesans inquired as to the meaning of several of our more common expressions of this type. When these had been explained, they expressed considerable shock, almost verging on disbelief. One elderly person exclaimed that he now knew why the sailors of the U. S. S. Arkansas, which visited the /76/ islands in the '20's, had started to fight when one sailor used a term of this type in referring to another.

Venereal Disease

Venereal diseases are known among the Marquesans by the generic name of mate'uapu -- street sickness -- alluding to the fact that one "runs loose in the street" to contract the disease. (The term definitely appears to be a result of culture contact.) 164

Several types of diseases are distinguished on the basis of the syndrome manifested.

mimi hati	"broken urine" - gonorrhea	164
hao'ehi	"white man's discharge" - probably lympho granuloma inquinale. Described as characterized by running sores around the genitalia, in the mouth. Epilation of the pubis and loss of finger and toe nails also occur if disease is not checked.	192
pa'atita	"many ripe (things)" - probably syphilis, in primary stage, characterized by chancre on mouth and within.	

Syphilis is a relatively rare phenomenon in the Marquesas, by far the most common diseases being gonorrhea and lympho. During the entire period of field work in the Marquesas, only two individuals with the characteristic saddle-bridge nose of the advanced syphilitic were seen. One of these admitted to having contracted a venereal disease 164

/98 cont./ 178 797 834 [291]
European clothing habits appears to have also carried over into sexual relations, to the extent that many girls of the present adolescent age-group do not wish to expose their bodies to casual lovers. It is difficult to say whether this prudishness has developed relatively recently, as a result of increased missionary efforts since World War II, or whether it has been gradually developing over a longer period of time. The effects of the mission value system can also be seen in some of the sexual terminology (i.e., nene = "breast," lit. "shame"; [192] pe = "vulva" or "orgasm" lit. "rotten," "infected"; hauhau = "orgasm," lit. "bad").

In comparing the age at which heterosexual relations are begun in modern Marquesan culture with the evidence of the aboriginal period, we see some indications that changes may have taken place in the last two centuries. Several historical sources allude to the striking youth of the Marquesan girls who had sexual relations with European visitors. Lisiansky (1814, p. 67) remarks that some 100 females "practised all the arts of /99/ lewd expression and gesture to get aboard....Among them were some not more than ten years of age." He further states"...these infants rivaled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement." Krusenstern (1802, p. 116) also notes a girl of 10 to 12 years of age, brought by her father, engaging in sexual intercourse with sailors. Marchand (p. 109) whose visit was to the southern islands of the archipelago, some years previous to the Krusenstern expedition, reported that he saw 8-year-old girls who were definitely not novices in sexual techniques. He states, however, that he saw four older women hold a young girl and force her to submit to intercourse with a European sailor, indicating that some of this precocity may not have been standard practice in the culture. Krusenstern (ibid) attributed the promiscuity of the girls to the rather mercenary [548] interests of their husbands and fathers who desired certain gifts from the Europeans. He believed that the girls who visited his ships may have been assigned as prostitutes for the express purpose of obtaining metal tools, ornaments, etc. Therefore, the evidence that Marquesan girls may have begun

178 864 175 648 864